

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 615

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THREE PENCE

WAR STILL THE ENEMY

CONTROL of Prague, according to Napoleon, was the key to control of Europe. Today, the empire builders of Moscow, not content with Bohemia, move on to Berlin. The general view is that the Russian interference with Allied traffic to and from Berlin, following immediately on the practical breakdown of four-power control, is merely a clumsy reply to the Western Allies' slick manoeuvre over Trieste. The Italian voter is being wooed from both sides of the Curtain, and if one suitor displays subtlety, the other must display what it considers to be strength.

It is a dangerous game. If this type of politics becomes conventional, the last three words of Clausewitz's

COMMENTARY

by

CYRIL HUGHES

famous dictum, "War is the continuation of politics by other means," will become superfluous. The nations will slide into war imperceptibly, perhaps even with a sense of relief. The cold war is undoubtedly hotting up. Somewhat. The Manchester Guardian declares:

"... the Western Allies will have to take counsel together on their military security. A pacific nation does not behave as the Russians are behaving in Germany."

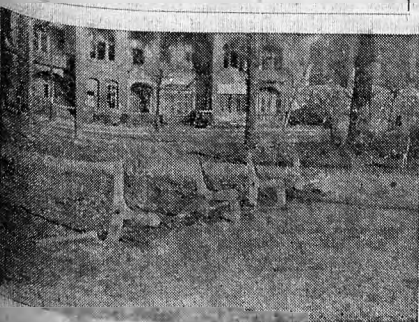
Tit for tat

THIS is true, but does not, unfortunately, get us very far. Does it mean that the Manchester Guardian has only just discovered that Russia is not a pacific nation? Or that it has known for some time but has not liked to hurt Russia's feelings by saying so? For clearly, ominous Russian warnings of aerial manoeuvres over her zonal territory represent merely a difference in degree, not kind, compared with recent activities. The war between Russia and the West has been going on for some time—by proxy—in Greece and China.

What is most alarming about the present situation is that the childishness of the Russian action is likely to find a response in all that is most adolescent in the American and British character. A lost temper, a stray shot, an unpleasant "incident," and anything may happen. It is appalling to think that the fate of even this precarious peace rests with soldiers and administrators apparently devoid of all sense of adult responsibility. The peoples of Russia and the West feel themselves once more on the brink of a war, the prospect of which fills them all with loathing and dismay.

The common reaction in the West is to blame Russia and await the inevitable. But Russia can and does claim that a pacific nation does not behave as America is behaving in relation to Greece and Persia, for in-

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In a Berlin park:
No wood left in the seats.

Civil Defence — of what?

I PERSONALLY have no objection to Civil Defence. My first reaction when the last war broke out was to apply for a job in the Auxiliary Fire Service, somewhere in the East End of London; and I should have been a much more eligible fireman if I had had some previous training. Were Britain neutral and disarmed, were Britain even pacifist to a man, Civil Defence would still be necessary: because in the event of war between Russia and America, these islands would be the first to be fought for,

and would not emerge unscathed.

However great the area devastated by atom-bombs, there would still be a circle round every target, as there was round the outskirts of Hiroshima, where men, women and children were

dying slowly of wounds and radioactivity. They would need all the last-aid we could give.

Nevertheless, I believe that the Government's Civil Defence proposals are all that Mr. Shurmur and others called them in the House, "appalling and outrageous": not in themselves, but in their expression of a mentality as unrealistic as it is immoral—a mentality which still clings to the idea that Britain can be defended by war.

A handful of people in Britain can be defended from war; Britain cannot be defended by war. That is a demonstrable fact. It has nothing to do with pacifism. It is the conclusion of every atom-scientist, pacifist or non-pacifist, who has studied the question.

It is even the conclusion of those who deny that it is their conclusion. On March 27, there appeared an article in The Economist wholeheartedly

By F. A. LEA

supporting the plea that Civil Defence is necessary, on the ground that military defence is necessary and one without the other is senseless. Yet what does this article commend as "the kind of thinking which has to be done before Civil Defence can be said to have anything more than a tactical doctrine?"—Thinking that envisages the need "for planned dispersal of population within the Commonwealth; for a gradual sharing out of skilled workmen and key machinery; for deliberate encouragement of heavy and light industry in the Dominions; for dispersal of fuel, raw materials and munition stocks..."

In other words, for thinking based on the assumption that it is not Britain that is to be defended at all, but Canada, Australia and South Africa.

NOT PRACTICAL POLITICS

If Britain is to be defended as a nation, let alone a democracy, it will have to abandon the method of war. War is not practical politics for Britain any more, or indeed for Western Europe. The Americans may say, in the words of the magazine, Time:

"Ten years from now a divided, stunned and defeated U.S. may be trying to adjust itself to a Communist-ruled world. Ten years from now a weary, mangled and victorious U.S. may be trying to salvage what it can from the radio-active wreckage of the world. . . . The problem for Americans is how to make the second alternative more likely than the first."

The US might survive a war—just. But Britain and Western Europe would be the radio-active wreckage.

The Russians know this, even if we don't. Therefore they are not afraid of an armed Western Europe, and it is useless to pretend that by arming, we may prevent the advance of Communism West. On the contrary, we make it more likely: because the more we spend on guns and rockets, the less we have to eat; and the less we have to eat, the easier it is for Communism to triumph without any need for intervention by Russia.

Not merely, by relying on arms, do we make Communist expansion more likely; we make war itself more likely. For America will be far more inclined to go to war in defence of an armed Western Europe than she will in "defence" of a Western Europe which has repudiated arms and alliances together.

There is only one hope for Britain

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

BERLIN IN SPRINGTIME

"Panic" Reports Exaggerated

From GERD TREUHART
PN Special Correspondent in Berlin

IF nature could be influenced by political circumstances, I doubt if the lovely spring weather over Berlin could have lasted one hour, never mind over the whole Easter holiday.

Let us be frank—the situation in Berlin is serious, not so much from a political point of view as from a psychological. It took the Allied Powers three years to realise that whatever the future system of Germany might be—whether it was to have a Central Government or be incorporated within the framework of a United States of Europe, Berlin was, and always would be, the Capital of the German Reich. In spite of the ruins and bricks which are so distinctly visible from my window of the Hotel am Zee, Berlin has its own moral force, its own life.

Now the Russians are trying to get hold of Berlin. At the same time they are beginning to realise that a military coup in the Western sector of the city is certainly not worth the complications that might follow. If the Americans left the capital, their prestige would suffer a shock, not only in Germany, but throughout the world.

BERLINERS' DISTRUST

The strong speeches recently made by Mr. Marshall and General Clay, expressing their determination to stay in Berlin, have been endorsed by French and British officials whom I visited during Easter Week; but the Germans are still very hesitant to trust in such declarations.

I am not surprised, therefore, to see endless queues outside the Berlin post offices, where the Berliners are trying to send their last possessions to some friends or relatives in the Western Zones.

Berlin has become the chief fortress in the cold war. The Western Sectors are increasingly isolated. When I tried to enter the Russian Sector a few days ago, my German driver demurred. Only recently, he said, one of my colleagues had disappeared

there for several days. The Russians would put me in a cellar and only release me if I signed a document to the effect that I was a British spy, sent by MI5 in London. Later the Russian-sponsored German press would report that British journalists were spying, and so give the Russian authorities an excuse for stronger measures against foreigners entering their Sector.

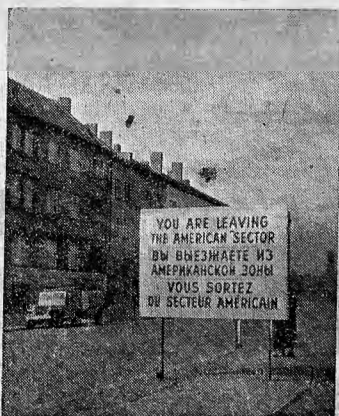
As it is, German members of the SED Party, acting on Russian instructions, are tapping phone-calls between the Western and Eastern Sectors; and enticing residents in the Western Sector into the Eastern to be kidnapped.

INDEPENDENT ALLIES

In view of this, it is surprising that the American, British and French authorities do not collaborate in resisting the pressure from the East. While the British and Americans refused the Russians permission to inspect the papers of passengers on trains going to their Zones, the French allow them to do so on the train from Baden-Baden to Tegel. Only a British subject going to Hamburg, only an American going to Frankfurt, gets priority for a passage. When the Russians began searching every car that entered their Sector, the Americans refused to give British subjects transport facilities in their jeeps.

It would, however, be an exaggeration to say, as some of my colleagues have done in the daily Press, that a panic has broken out in Berlin and that the relatives of British citizens are leaving the capital. It should be remembered that an evacuation scheme for Russian wives started three months ago, and it is only now that the British wives are on the eve of departure.

From my window in Berlin I can still see a peaceful population queuing outside a cinema at eight o'clock in the morning, hoping to get a ticket for the evening show in order to forget the nerve-racking atmosphere of a cold war, which, in the eyes of the Berliners can only be solved by the immediate creation of a United States of Europe, with Germany playing a decisive part in the economic recovery of the whole world.



Where US adds SR



The Kurfurstendamm:
Cafe Viennese on Easter Sunday (but ersatz).

PEACE NEWS

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Stamford Hill 2262

FEDERATION

WE have received a number of letters—some of them appear on this page—reproaching us for our apparent indifference, or even hostility, towards the world government movement. Clearly this movement, receiving, as it is, the support of several eminent pacifists, deserves sympathetic and careful consideration. Two quite distinct questions are, however, raised by our correspondents, which ought to be kept apart in discussion.

First of all, is World Federal Government desirable in itself? To this question the answer is by no means self-evident. It cannot be shown, for example, that war between sovereign States has only been averted or ended, in the past by their partial surrender of sovereignty to a new, over-riding government. On the contrary, historians have argued that it was precisely the attainment of sovereignty that ruled out the possibility of war between the British Dominions.

Again, no-one who has visited Scandinavia will doubt that hostilities between Norway and Sweden are at least as unthinkable as between the North and South of the USA: yet here, if national sovereignty has been surrendered, it has not been to any new Government, but rather to a unifying moral conscience, such as is symbolised for the Commonwealth by the King.

Nevertheless, it may be true that where mutual trust is wanting, as it is among the present Great Powers, a supra-national authority with power to arrest the manufacture (and manufacturer) of armaments would be a highly desirable thing. Indeed, only those pacifists whose belief in decentralisation is linked with an objection to all coercive authority might be found to oppose it.

This brings us to the second question, however: for to grant the desirability of World Federal Government in principle, is not by any means the same as to grant that the world government movement can achieve its objective without war. Bertrand Russell, for one, believes that it can only achieve it after the military defeat of Soviet Russia; and although his view may not be that of a majority—nobody would suggest that it is—that is no reason for dismissing it. Minorities have been known to be right; and in this case there are very good reasons for agreeing with Bertrand Russell.

For it is extremely important, as the PPU National Council affirmed at its meeting last month, that we should reach "a better understanding of Russia," and no such understanding is possible without a knowledge of Communist ideology. But if anything is definitely asserted by this ideology, it is that world-peace depends on world-communism, and that world-communism can be achieved only by force. As long as the Soviet rulers are sincere in their Marxist professions, therefore, they are bound to dismiss all talk of world-federation as so much "bourgeois idealism," which, though they may exploit it—as they exploited the late Atomic Energy Working Committee—they will never allow to divert them from the real objective of their policy.

No previous federalist movement was confronted by such an obstacle as this; and unless it is wholly imaginary, it is entirely futile to suppose that any world constituent assembly (even if the Russians were allowed to participate) would succeed in doing what UNO has failed to do—appoint an effective supra-national authority. The time spent on summoning the assembly would be better employed on canvassing the preventive war—or unilateral disarmament.

At any rate, this is an issue that has to be faced, and one which world government spokesmen, with the honourable exception of Bertrand Russell, often appear to evade. Is the world government movement really a "creative and dynamic effort"? Or is "world-government" simply a synonym for "peace," which somehow makes it sound easier to get?

FEDERALISTS PROTEST

Stop peddling ideologies!

I AM baffled by the editorial notion in your issue of Feb. 20 that creation of world government "would presuppose a degree of international co-operation which does not exist, and if it did exist would render World Government itself unnecessary."

On the contrary, the world is teeming with international co-operation, meaning by that term co-operation between national governments. How else are we to describe the war-time pooling of resources, international dispensation of relief, billions of dollars invested in reconstruction, defence pacts, trade agreements, international economic studies and the confusing succession of international conferences, on every imaginable topic, organised by various organs of the United Nations.

We are actually at the zenith of the era of international co-operation. Never before has so much inter-governmental effort existed. Confusion results because all this effort achieves so little in giving peace of mind to the individual. Inter-governmental co-operation is not enough. It is erratic, pompous and unenforceable. More of the same now is not a pre-condition of world government but a detour to more international bad temper born of frustration.

Advocates of world government differ from other reformers in that they have stopped shopping around in ideologies as the nostrum which will cure mankind of war and paused to analyse just what it was that ended war between formerly sovereign

political units in the past.

They found that the creation of a new level of government between formerly hostile, bickering sovereignties and not the over-night blossoming of brotherly love, unilateral disarmament, socialism or free enterprise turned the trick. They also found that each time, in whatever part of the world the miracle was finally negotiated, agreement on pooling a part of the existing sovereignties and the grant of power to make, enforce and interpret the laws of the new government was an arduous, discouraging business, promising certain failure until the very moment of successful consummation.

Nor do its advocates claim that world government will abolish all human ills from callouses to poverty. But they do claim that the establishment of world government will enable humanity to devote its energies entirely to constructive tasks and bring within hope of realisation the dream of a better society.

In our time, to work for world government is to espouse the one realism which leads to constructive action. All others lead to despair. We who work for world government

I AM deeply disturbed by recent misleading and adverse editorial comment on the World Government movement.

F. A. Lea's (Dec. 12, 1947) report on Bertrand Russell's speech to the Royal Empire Society conveyed the thoroughly false impression that Lord Russell speaks for the majority of those advocating world government. Lord Russell's conception is closer to the collective security school of war-to-end war advocates than to those who are now working along a wide international front to achieve the creation of world federal government with authority to make, enforce and adjudicate world laws operating directly on individuals.

Earl Russell's "close alliance . . . willing to coerce the recalcitrant minority by the threat of war, or, if necessary by war itself," will not achieve world federation but a world empire, provided that after such a war of atomic and biological weapons anything worth dominating is left.

Federation is not achieved by domination but by consent. The American Federation was designed by the Constitutional Convention which met in 1787. Contrary to all expectations at the time, the Constitution was adopted by all thirteen states within two years, and the Federation developed peacefully through the admission of new states on equal terms

for nearly three-quarters of a century. Despite the tragedy of the American Civil War, wars are not endemic to federations. France, a unitary state, has been plagued by more internal wars than any existing regional federation.

I am sorry to find Peace News treating this supremely important subject superficially. The calibre and doctrines of the world government movement cannot be judged on the basis of one man's speeches or iso-

LETTERS

lated paragraphs culled from *The Plan in Outline* issued by the Crusade for World Government. This pamphlet (quoted in your editorial of Jan. 30, 1948) does not explore the philosophy of world government, but presents a mechanism for direct popular action to organise a People's World Constituent Assembly. It is planned to make it the task of this Convention to define the nature and powers of world federal government, embodying these in a World Constitution to be ratified by all nations and peoples.

Instead of sneering at this creative and dynamic effort, pacifists ought to

KEEP IT UP!

NEARLY 400 readers have already joined in the campaign, explained in PN last week, for extending our circulation. The first 5,000 leaflets introducing the paper have all been despatched, together with the wrappers in which you can forward your copies to likely people in the vicinity. More are on order, and if you haven't sent for them yet, please do so as soon as possible.

These cost money, of course, which PN doesn't possess. But this week has brought generous donations to the Fund: £100 from one; £10 from another; a promise of £25 from a third unflagging supporter; smaller sums which represent an equivalent sacrifice. Such help is immensely encouraging, and I do thank every one of you.

Not a penny is wasted, and with your operation in the campaign, we shall assuredly send up sales. In these critical times the only thing we cannot afford is to relax in our efforts—so keep it up!

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Mar. 26: £128 6s. 1d. Total for 1948: £238 8s. 7d.

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may have no more than one chance in a million of success. But if we fail, part of that failure will be due to those who should have helped in this fundamental task but preferred to stand aside to moan: "It can't be done!"

EDITH WYNNER.

General Secretary, Int. Campaign for World Govt.

54 Riverside Drive, New York 24, N. Y., U.S.A.

Personal pacifism is not enough

participate and help develop public opinion in favour of world federal government with peace-creating instead of war-suppressing powers. If pacifists stand aloof from the world government movement they need blame but themselves if it becomes the monopoly, as have other efforts at international organisation, of the war-to-end-war collective security crowd.

The Montreux Declaration, adopted unanimously by over four hundred delegates from world government organisations of about twenty countries, is more representative of the over-all philosophy of the movement than the random statements of Bertrand Russell.

Had there been more than four pacifists at the Montreux Congress to support the one of the four who helped draft this Declaration, the emphasis on the non-military aspect of World Federation could have been made stronger. The next international congress of the World Movement for World Federal Government will be held in Luxembourg, September 5-11. I suggest pacifists prepare to attend.

In conclusion, I hope that Peace News, to which I have subscribed almost from its first issue, will revert to its usual high standards and embark on a more thorough and creative appraisal of the world government movement.

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER.

54 Riverside Drive, New York, 24, N. Y., U.S.A.

Africa's Indians

AS a regular reader of Peace News, I regret that so misleading a paragraph should have been inserted as that which appears on the front page of the Feb. 13 issue.

It is to the effect that Indians in South Africa are forbidden by law to purchase or use property in South Africa. As a matter of fact, Indians are among the wealthiest people in the country. Only the other day one died leaving £104,000. Many are large property owners. In Natal the Europeans fear that they will be eventually entirely ousted if Indians continue to expand as they have been doing in areas regarded as European.

It is Natal that has forced the issue as regards the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, which restricts future purchases of property by Indians to certain defined areas. This, however, does not apply to the Cape Province, an area several times bigger than England. Here there is no law to prevent Asiatics from buying property and living where they like; they are indeed, among the biggest property owners in Cape Town. An Asiatic family lived next door to

me for eleven years in their own house, one of the best in the street.

The fact is that the Indians, who were brought out to Natal during the latter part of the last century as indentured labourers on the sugar and tea estates and allowed to remain after their contracts ended, have increased and progressed so much as to constitute the present problem.

Many of us are not satisfied with the Act, and we would like to see all the coloured races directly represented in Parliament, not merely by Europeans, but by members of their own race. We consider this to be but bare justice.

The above facts, however, should be known, especially when this country is vilified before the entire world.

N. S. CREED.

Cornwall St., Simonstown, Cape Province.

(While welcoming our correspondent's additional facts, we must point out that it was the Union Parliament which passed the Land Tenure Act and has as yet failed to withdraw it.—Ed.)

Limiting freedom

MR. ROY SHERWOOD says that in my book, "The Free Society," "I swallow the logical fallacy that free-

dom can be saved by methods which limit freedom." There is no logical fallacy at all in this proposition, unless it is assumed that freedom is an invariable and absolute condition: which I do not think Mr. Sherwood believes. I should be sorry if he does: because it is nonsense.

The sole and entire justification of any ordered society is that by limiting freedom it increases freedom. It limits unimportant freedoms to secure important ones which would otherwise not be attained. The citizen of a free society surrenders his freedom to knock his neighbour down because he does not like the colour of his hair, in order to be secured the freedom of not being knocked down by someone who does not like the colour of his hair.

This is the ABC of political philosophy. The problem which confronts humanity is how to extend the ordered peace of the civil society to the "society" of nations. It can only be done in the same way, by surrendering less important freedoms to secure more important ones. So far from being a logical fallacy it is the vital principle of civilisation itself.

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY.

The Poplars, Theltham, via Diss, Norfolk.

PASTORAL

IT is more and more becoming obvious that the crisis is too profound to be spoken of usefully in a secular way. There can be little or no sanity in the attempt to mount above problems where men's thinking upon them avoids the larger context which religious faith gives.

The bigger the problems the more necessary to embrace them with big ideas. But to do so with little ideas and a partisan spirit brings on inevitably the sort of bad temper which, feeding on despair and futility, drags down the spirit of man to idolatry.

A golden calf is the fatal expedient, for men become terrified and irritated by questions which mock their narrow and faithless minds. So it was on the wilderness of Sinai, where men in the hardness of their heart resisted thoughts of trust in Moses their spiritual leader, and instead held to the slavish conventions of their Egyptian thinking. These latter were no match for the problems set them by the "howling wilderness" with Moses invisible to them, he having withdrawn himself for communion in the mount. Consequently a totalitarian communism was started. And still today similar movements obey the same law of generation. Men vainly struggle to make their little spanners unscrew nuts too big for them—they grow frantic and then swarm.

Such a problem as that of increased production in this country challenged the inward man to discover bigger ideas about life with which to solve it. It is therefore a religious problem, and has everything to do with motive, and very little to do with incentive. It is very unfortunate that so much thought has been given to the latter because most valuable time has been lost, and the necessary change over in men's minds, which is our only hope, has been made the more difficult.

It is a pity that we could not have continued appealing in the way men were appealed to in the war.

All true pacifists responded to the call for "blood, tears and sweat" though not perhaps in the way intended. It was a demand to the nation to discover inward resources of endurance and patience, and gave to all who responded some revelation of the enormous resources to be found in the motives of a man's heart when sufficiently aroused. But immediately hostilities ended we seem to have set about forgetting what the rigours of war had revealed, and started to stimulate men to greater effort in industry by appealing to their selfishness.

An incentive is as a carrot suspended before the nose of a donkey to make him reach out and run for it.

But men are not donkeys to be treated so. It is a strange paradox that a government which has exalted the value of human beings in its social reforms, should have been so little anxious to exhort men to discover their inward worth, without knowledge of which reforms must suffer destruction from ignorance. China shops are no place for donkeys.

A new world requires new men, and if the foundation of the very real reforms in health insurance, national ownership, and education are to be rock and not sand, then much diligent exhortation needs to be forthcoming. Workers in every sphere of activity need guidance for that indispensable readjustment of motive in work to secure the gains to future generations. To this end we must do better than placard the boardings with the words "Work or want."

Britain urgently needs the ministrations of spiritually-minded men for it is indeed a religious problem which underlies our present crisis. Let us then, who are Christians, receive the call to more and better work in our prayers offered and lived in fervent hope that our countrymen may be quickened to new understanding of the glory of service.

JACQUES.

RENOUCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

Humanity v. Atomic Bomb

IN a memorable editorial which followed the death of Mahatma Gandhi, the News Chronicle thus described the cumulative historic process that confronts this generation with the most terrible issue of all time:

"The hand that killed the Mahatma is the same hand that nailed the Cross; it is the hand that fired the faggots; it is the hand that through the ages has been growing ever more mighty in war and less sure in the pursuit of peace. It is your hand and mine. . . . We of this generation have to make that choice between material and moral forces, which is also the choice between the death and the life of the human species."

Exactly how has suffering mankind been brought to the edge of this precipice?

Historians tell us that we are living today at the end of the epoch which began with the Renaissance and Reformation. With the Reformation came that disruption of Christendom which may be regarded as the first cause of our modern world wars, since it led to the establishment of State churches which rendered to Caesar the things that were God's, and substituted the worship of nationalism for the religion of Christ. Their betrayal of their Master's teaching accelerated that development of national sovereignty which was the second major cause of twentieth century disaster, and still bedevils the abortive struggles of UNO and of the would-be architects of European Federation. Both these factors preceded the third cause so often advanced by unhistorically-minded hecklers as the sole origin of wars—the failure of the capitalist system to bring security and a decent life to the common man.

Beyond control

But in our time these tremendous developments have been overshadowed by a fourth, which may be described as the outpacing by scientific ingenuity of the rudimentary human capacity for moral control. It is the nature of this peril that the organisers of the Atomic Energy weeks are trying to bring home to the public.

For the past two hundred years, scientific investigation has been mainly materialistic. For the past thirty, national research backed by national resources has increasingly prostituted knowledge for the purposes of destruction. Space has been conquered, time controlled, sound-waves harnessed, to the service of Man the Warmaker. In his recent quest for a new method of destroying his enemies he has learned to split the atom, and thereby threatens his own species with a self-created doom.

Yet the perverse human mind, seemingly dominated by a mass "impulse towards death," remains almost unexplored and relatively unknown. We do not understand the diabolism which leads "responsible" politicians to choose war when peace alone can save their people, and impels assassins to kill the saints, not knowing what they do. Human curiosity, dynamic and dangerous in its restless energy, might well be diverted for the remainder of this century from material invention to the barely tilled field of mental science. It is in the minds and motives of men that the roots of war lie.

Time is short

But the development of an embryonic study, like the constructive forms of material research suggested by Aldous Huxley in *Science, Liberty, and Peace*, is a long-term programme. For the third time in thirty-five years, the sands of history are running out. According to an article entitled "The Future of Mankind" by Bertrand Russell in the American New Leader for March 6, three possibilities lie before us, of which one will have been realised by the year 2000: The end of human life on our planet; a catastrophic diminution of the world's population followed by a long period of barbarism; or a unification of the world under one government controlling all the major weapons. Of the possible consequences of a Third World War, he writes as follows:

"It is thought by many sober men of science that radio-active clouds, drifting round the world, may disintegrate living tissues everywhere. The uneasy episode of life will end, and the peaceful rocks will revolve unchanged until the sun explodes."

Political doctors with their remedies are many, particularly in the American Press. Lord Russell himself suggests a military unification of the

eleventh hour, for roads to reconciliation between East and West. The idea that conflicting beliefs cannot co-exist in one world carries mankind back to the Thirty Years War. By the middle of the nineteenth century, men had come to regard the fanaticisms of the seventeenth as incredible. The twentieth has unhappily re-discovered the compulsions of intolerance.

"If Gandhi had been an American" writes another columnist, William E. Bohn, "He would have sought a way of breaking through the iron curtain rolled down by governments. . . . He would never have rested until he had broken through the wall by which the Russian dictators seek to isolate their people from ours. He would have denounced Russian ruthlessness. But he would not have stopped there."

Pacifists, being the self-appointed fools of politics, with no "face" to save or "prestige" to sacrifice, are often compelled to pursue aims which commonsense calls "unrealistic." But, as the Mahatma proved during his final fast, unrealistic aims can sometimes be realised. "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead."

GERMAN PEACE SOCIETY'S AIMS

THE German Peace Society, which has branches all over Germany, and aims at uniting those Germans who are convinced anti-militarists, has made an appeal to the public to take an active part in the prevention of another war.

In a statement issued simultaneously from its British Zone Headquarters and from Frankfurt-on-Main in the US Zone, the Society demands the Total annihilation of Prussian militarism with all its deep-growing roots and ramifications; Elimination of militarist and national socialist literature and ideology wherever they may again appear; Prevention of the glorification of war in whatever shape it may emerge and the creation of a special law by which every contravention is punishable; Re-education and re-orientation of the German people, especially the youth, in a spirit of ready understanding and close co-operation with all other nations; Rigorous extermination of the "super-man" idea and the racial ideology which led to persecution; Rejection of every kind of dictatorial aspiration and totalitarian method, because only in a democratic state is personal and spiritual freedom guaranteed by law.

Further on a proposal is submitted for the establishment of a Ministry of Peace which, replacing the War Office, would inspire, sanction and promote all activities for peace in every sphere of public life.

All German teachers, political editors and journalists, members of parliament of every party, and all high-placed officials should declare their adherence to a peace policy.

STUTTGART WOMEN WARNED OF ATOM PERIL

The well-known nuclear physicist Dr. Freda Wuesthoff lectured recently on "Atomic Energy and Peace" at a woman's congress in Stuttgart. She reported on the present situation in the field of atomic research and the possible future effects for human life on our planet. She emphasised that the highest scientific development in this direction may lead either to prosperity or ruination for mankind.



VERA BRITTAIN

world on the initiative of the British Commonwealth and the United States, with outlawry for any Great Power which refuses to join. In an earlier issue of the same magazine Ely Culbertson, a well-known American commentator, unfolded a plan to make UNO effective. Another commentator, W. H. Chamberlain, writes in Human Events for March 10, that an effective union of at least some European countries outside the Soviet orbit "would help to relieve the chronic strain of our (i.e., the U.S.) present position as the sole major check on unlimited Soviet expansion." More hopefully, because proceeding from an inclusive rather than an exclusive outlook, the Chicago Christian Century calls on the Churches to support the idea of World Government.

Amid this chorus of agitated voices, would-be pacifists have their own path to pursue. However deep their diversities of religious and political opinion, they are united by two leading principles: First, the belief that a search for guilt must always begin with ourselves and not "over there"; secondly, the obligation to accept rather than inflict suffering. Whatever the cost to themselves they can do no other than seek, even at the

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British children will go to this

INTERNATIONAL VILLAGE

IN the International Children's Village at Trogen in Switzerland a "British" house is being built ready to receive children from this country. To finance the children's stay there and also to nominate those to be sent, a British Committee has been formed and is in process of registration as a War Charity. As further details of the Committee might hinder the registration, these must be withheld until a later date. Meanwhile we publish a description of the Village by DEVERE ALLEN, abridged, by permission, from an article in the Spring, 1948, International Youth Review.

The Swiss Village claims to be the only international children's village in the world. Other villages which exist in France, Italy, Yugoslavia and some other countries, are of a national character.

JAN was nine years old, but his face looked like a man's and he was hard as steel. Not in his body, for that was thin and tired. Yet his thoughts were as sharp as needles, turned in suspicion towards everyone. He had never had a home. Like thousands of European children, he had lost everything when fighting came to his town—father and mother, relatives, even some kindly strangers who tried to care for the baby that Jan was, eight years ago in Warsaw.

When Jan, with some other Polish boys and girls, was sent to the beautiful Swiss mountains, he couldn't believe that things would be much better. He had been moved around all his life. So even though he and his friends were given a big house all their own, Jan refused to unpack his little kit. "What's the use," he said. "We'll be moved on."

But this place was really different. It was the Children's Village in the town of Trogen, built for just one purpose: to give a new life to many children just like Jan. It was a dream village, where the sun shone most of the time. Where there were fresh eggs, fruit, milk and meat. Where Jan could play with other children from Poland, or, after losing his shyness, with children from France and other countries. Where he could take lessons on the piano or violin. Where he could go downstairs to the basement workshop in his own house, or in one of the others, and make all sorts of interesting things—bamboo fives that made elaborate tunes, sleds for winter snow, or even a hand-carved chair.

Jan finally got it into his head that this was a permanent home. He wouldn't leave until he was ready to return to Poland, trained to earn his own living and do what he felt was best. And that would take six or seven more years of growing up.

This Children's Village was a queer place, though, in certain ways. Swiss people came to see it, and they often left behind them gifts of chocolate,

until there was quite a pile. The candy was kept in a cupboard, and the cupboard was always left unlocked. That worried Jan. He wasn't a bad lad at all, but he had been obliged to live by his wits, and he had learned in days gone by that if he didn't steal food whenever he could, soon he would feel hunger gnawing at his stomach. So he went to the teacher who lived in his house.

"We can't leave candy around like that, for somebody will steal it," he told the teacher. The teacher didn't think so; said he, "Jan, that chocolate belongs to us all, together. We can divide it up, or pass it around, whenever we decide to do so." Jan wasn't satisfied. "No," he insisted, "it will certainly be stolen unless we keep the cupboard locked." But the cupboard was kept unlocked, and somehow none of the candy ever disappeared. That was something new for Jan, and it made a big impression on him. His suspicions began to be replaced by confidence and trust in the people around him.

THE Children's Village does that to all the worried youngsters who go there. It is run by people who have one central idea—to give boys and girls security and goodwill.

When the German children came, they passed through the city of St. Gallen on their way up the mountain slopes to Trogen. Said one of the older girls: "There's something fishy about all this. It can't be a real town, but has been set up here for some special reason. Not one house has been wrecked." When they got to the Children's Village and saw everything new and shiny, their first question was: "When did the old houses get bombed out and burned?"

There are eight houses now in the Village, and several other buildings. After all, that's pretty good, for the very first house was put up only in 1946. By another year there will be several more. The land was given by the town of Trogen, and already it is looking almost crowded, though there will always be room for a big sports field and playground.

The children at Trogen enjoy their school-work, for they do it with a great deal of freedom, and they have friendly teachers. It was quite a while before the young refugees felt like asking questions, for they had mostly been given orders up to now. And it was harder still to express opinions of their own, but they are getting used to that, because the teachers encourage them to have their individual ideas.

The teachers at the Village have proved that they like this kind of school. They get the same pay as other teachers in Switzerland, but they get no pensions after retiring from work, as other teachers do.

IT has cost money to build such a Children's Village. The double houses cost almost £4,500 apiece, not counting furniture. But the Swiss people have given money generously; boys and girls of the country help their refugee friends by selling the emblems of

the Village—pins made up like a bright red ladybird on a green leaf.

Young men and women who had no money, but who were willing to donate work, have come from all over Europe, even from America to hammer and dig and paint.

Not only the volunteer helpers and the teaching staff, but the very Village itself is international. There are now groups of boys and girls from Hungary, Poland, France, Germany and Austria. Soon a house will be ready for an Italian group, and other houses will follow for Greeks, Czechoslovaks and Finns. In each of the houses the native language is spoken, and the foods are cooked the way they would be in the country from which its children have come. That is so they will fit in when they return.

But the children find it is great fun to mingle with those who come from different countries. In sports, in music, and especially in making things down in the workshops, it doesn't seem to matter whether you speak the same language or not. If you can't speak a language you can always talk with your hands!

ONE day, of course, the present boys and girls will be too old to stay at Trogen. Other young children will want to take their places. But nobody is to be sent back to his native country until he is at least fifteen years old, or until he has a job or else a good chance of further education. "No child will ever be sent away," one of the Village's leaders recently said, "until he is secure where he decides to settle. Not one of these children will be permitted to feel insecure again if we can help it."

Walter Robert Corti, a Swiss editor who started the Children's Village, was a very sick man for several years. He recovered only because he received wonderful care. When he got well he said: "I have been saved through the good care given me by others. Now, for the rest of my life, it is up to me to give care to those who need it most."

Perhaps it is lucky for the children that Dr. Corti is a citizen of Switzerland. For here is a small country that has escaped war, and in which people get along well together though they have different religions and even speak four different languages. The Swiss people believe in good citizenship. They want the refugee boys and girls at Trogen to become good citizens of their own countries, but to be, also, citizens of the world.

THE STRANGE CASE OF MISS X —AND THE PSU

The Stepney Pacifist Service Unit's work among Old-age Pensioners has not ended with the passage of the National Assistance Bill. During the time lapse before the Bill's projected schemes are implemented the Unit will carry on with what is perhaps a minor part of their work, but one which is fulfilling a need—amply demonstrated by the following report on the case of Miss X contained in a recent Unit News-letter.

"WE were first introduced to Miss X in the summer of 1943 when we were called to the dismal basement of a pleasant three-storied house, where, to quote the first entry in our case-sheet, 'We found a great collection of bits and pieces in every room, everything coated with layers of dust, and the partly-covered windows shrouding the whole house in gloom... round the door lintels hung dozens of carnival decorations.'

"Miss X was one of four sisters, two of whom were dead and the third in a local hospital. Later we arranged the funeral of this last but one of the X's. The leasehold house then became the sole property of Miss X, with rates and land tax payable, though she had no income apart from her Old-age and supplementary pension. The local Assistance Board were very

ICELAND LEADS

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RESULT 2.6 MILLION ICE-
LANDIC CROWNS BESIDES
CLOTHING 4.5 TONS STOP
KINDLY WIRE SOONEST
WHERE TO SEND CLOTHING
SALTED MEAT CANNED FISH
COD LIVER OIL WHICH IS
READY FOR SHIPMENT."

With this message, sent to the United Nations Aid for Children Regional Headquarters in London, Iceland announced that she was the first country to complete its UNAC campaign. Since the end of the war Iceland has contributed over £1,000,000 in relief to Europe; over £7 10s. per head from a population of 130,000.

Below is the expenditure side of Iceland's 1947 Budget.

	In thousands of Crowns*
Interest on State Debt	1,144
Central Government ...	300
Althing ...	1,115
Central Adminstrn. ...	3,699
Justice, Police, etc. ...	12,616
Sanitary affairs ...	10,216
Communications ...	31,785
Ecclesiastical affairs and instruction ...	24,837
Science, Lit. & Art	5,132
Agriculture, Fisheries and Industries ...	12,453
Social Welfare ...	7,472
Pensions ...	3,771
Other expenditure ...	12,500
*26.22 to the £.	

In giving these figures the Statesman's Year Book adds the following note:

"DEFENCE: Iceland possesses neither an army nor a navy, nor any fortifications. Three fishery protection vessels are maintained by the Government."

This year £16 per head will be paid for defence in Britain.

Chicago Conference

THESE were some of the lines of action put forward as a basis for discussion at a conference held in Chicago last week-end to consider more disciplined and revolutionary pacifist activity:

We refuse to bear arms or engage in any war activity;

Those of conscription age will refuse to register or serve. The others will identify themselves with these men;

We shall strive to have no income taxable by the Government or refuse to pay;

We accept responsibility to live under personal and corporate discipline.

Among those calling the conference were Frank Olmstead, Bayard Rustin and A. J. Muste, of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. It will be more fully reported in a forthcoming issue.

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THREE IMPORTANT BOOKLETS

ON the unhappy Palestine question, from which we so willingly shy away, Gollancz has published for 1s. a booklet by Walter Zander, *Is This the Way?* which speaks the only kind of words which contain germs of conciliation and understanding. Confession of Sin, and Repentance are usually regarded as steps in Christian life, but this booklet, addressed primarily to Jews, is a call to these Graces which we would give much to hear echoed by the Authorities of the Christian Church.

How rarely a Christian nation is heard to confess and repent of past sin!

The best we can manage is a discreet if shamed silence on the subject of current dishonourable actions, while those which time has mellowed and embalmed in "History" we find it easy to account for by the presence of economic drive or historical necessity—two Imperatives which it would be laughable to think could be diverted an inch by the Christian conscience.

ARABS IGNORED

Mr. Zander, himself a Jew, makes it clear that from the first the Zionists have ignored the Arabs' natural rights in Palestine. Urged on by a national dream within and the terrors of Europe without, they have tried to wring from Britain promises which no mandatory Power could have authority to give. Yet never have they been the suppliants of the Arabs, which is all in their situation they could truly be.

Mr. Zander's booklet shows where only tragedy can be averted, in the hearts and understanding of the Zionists, who could reverse their policy of force, recall their threats, admit their lack of rights, and appeal in their helplessness to the hearts of their Arab hosts. A Christian policy. Is it a vain hope that the Jews may yet adopt it, and point for us all a way ahead?

The Duke of Bedford has rewritten his pamphlet *Total Disarmament or an International Police Force?* It costs threepence—half the price of the clever but hollow weeklies—and if this was a reasonable world it would now be a main topic of discussion in the newspapers, the banks, and the barbers' shops. But the world is so unreasonable that it would rather destroy itself than face up to its dilemmas (a physical death being easier than a new birth) so it is left to a few to put this pamphlet into other peoples' hands. Unlike some writers, the Duke does not sidestep the problem of Russia.

This is also true of *The Bishops and War* by Paul Gliddon (6d. Anglican Pacifist Fellowship) which appeals eloquently to the Bishops of the Church to give solid meaning at this crucial "now" to their condemnation of War at the 1930 Lambeth Conference. 1948 will see them again Conferring. It would give cause for hope on earth, and rejoicing in Heaven too, if they all turned up with this simple but surely unanswerable booklet tucked into their gaiters. P.T.G.

MUSIC & DRAMA

Edited by Roger Page

As I like it!

WHY should not I follow the example of Mr. Beverley Baxter (for one may learn from anybody) and write about a local amateur production? For I have just seen one well worth writing about—a performance of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, given by the Dramatic Society of the Chislehurst and Sidcup County Grammar School for Boys.

I went with a degree of reluctance which would have made Jaques' schoolboy "creeping like snail unwillingly to school" seem by comparison to take on the eager abandon of young Lochinvar. In fact I did not want to go at all. I lived to be very glad I did.

You would not expect to hear that the performance was perfect. There were some of the faults usual to amateurs: The pace was too uniform, and too uniformly slow; many of the characters could not keep still—in fact they often seemed like cell-pacing prisoners; they nearly all gestured too much, and some of them had the irritating habit of fixing their eyes on the auditorium ceiling. Such faults can be overlooked, if not forgiven, for as a whole the performance was excellent. It was also well-spoken: I heard every word.

One or two small-part actors had not perhaps been sufficiently helped up to their parts, so that here and there a casual speech threw the whole thing out of key for a moment. But none of the leading parts was badly played. Oliver (how well he could phrase a speech) and Duke Frederick were first-rate, and scarcely less good was the banished Duke, who is also the school's headmaster (and producer of the play) and who has that indefinable thing, rare among amateurs, a stage "presence." Jaques was good within the reading of the part, but was not deliberate enough: I would back him to make a very good Hamlet some day.

Touchstone was excellent for much of his time, but fell off here and there. He probably played the part as well as a schoolboy could, though he might have benefited from firmer handling.

The girls made one realise why, to Shakespeare's audience, it seemed perfectly natural to have boys playing these parts. It is not, in these shal-lower days, easy for boys to play female parts, but here they did very well. Celia particularly impressed me; Rosalind started shakily but warmed up nicely to her task. She was hampered throughout by a shoulder-stoop. The rustic girls Audrey and Phebe also deserve special commendation.

My critical sense tells me that the scenery was too elaborate, but it was so delightful as to disarm me, and the constant changes were generally done with remarkable expedition. There was a general air of efficiency and serious intention. The whole thing was very creditable.

I wish I could say the same of the audience. They giggled, as is the current habit, at the sight of the property food; they sniggered whenever two schoolboys embraced; and when the headmaster, being a Duke, embraced a schoolboy, being Rosalind, they laughed hysterically as though at a farcical invention of Messrs. Laurel and Hardy. O tempora! O mores!

Yet I dare swear that the whole thing was done with impeccable taste and with, by all concerned, a commendable sacrifice of self to the spirit of the play. I last saw *As You Like It* in the West End; the production did not hold my interest as much as did this one at the school.

ROGER PAGE.

"Cockpit"

(This review is contributed by Ronald Mallone, who also wrote the notice "Three Plays" on March 19).

"THIS professor is too clever," says a Russian in *Cockpit* (Playhouse), "and," pointing to another Pole, "this one too stupid. They are fascists." This explains his leaving them locked in with the dead! To him, as to most of the displaced persons gathered in a German theatre, "Anyone who doesn't agree with them is a fascist." Relating how he dealt with DP's fighting for trucks, he says: "I told them they'd be liquidated if they were reactionary."

Equally simple is the solution of an English captain sending DP's east or west. Quelling a food riot with a revolver, he shouts: "Democracy is what you've been asking for, and democracy is what you're going to get!" At which a Communist who defines democracy as "well-meaning, muddle-headed and smug," accuses Britain of "trying to reorganise Europe according to the public school code" after spending "hundreds of years being empire builders."

Directed east, a Polish professor of medicine protests: "To go with the

Russians is murder! The Russians took half my country! Are you the SS?" Yet he helps a sick Russian, and when asked why, says quietly: "I am a doctor." Six years as a "dangerous intellectual" in a concentration camp have not affected his shrewdness: "Do you go armed unless you are afraid?" he asks. Kindly and self-critical ("We all get intensely possessive about the oddments we collect"), he tells the Englishman ironically: "There is a social conscience even among foreigners," and it is he who organises a miniature international police force when bubonic plague is suspected. In this crisis he laments: "I wish to God I had practised my profession instead of preaching it." "The object of a university is to prepare students for life and professors for death," he wryly adds.

He alone of the DP's recognises that "You risk your own life when you let your neighbour starve." To the unimaginative Englishman he cries: "Open your eyes man! We are all afraid. There is murder, terror and violence around you and you can afford to close your eyes!"

NO SIMPLE TASK

The Englishman's task, however, is not simple. He has "All Europe under one roof. Every man in this theatre is a living threat and a living victim." As a sergeant says, "They've all got each other to hate." Squabbling over a saucer of a Pole (who freely accompanied her husband to a death camp) accuses another of being a Jewess. By them are Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians with no destination, and a Lidice survivor with his "house" with him, significantly going to Russia.

Nor can he put Russians and Poles, or Croats and Serbs next to each other. A Yugoslav Partisan robs the baker to prevent a Chetnik eating. The Chetnik, called a Fascist, retorts that being a soldier he did what he was told, and had his wife and child burnt in barracks—a German reprisal for partisans' assassinations.

Similarly a French Communist who agrees "No fascist should be fed," wants to denounce a farmer for feeding Nazis, though she made munitions for them. The farmer, answering "burnt earth" advocates, says, "It is easy to burn what is not yours," and comments: "In England so few own a little land of their own." Pathetically though, he wants English protection because "We've been numbers so long we're not individuals."

The Communist, too, who loves the piano and in prison dreamt of an ideal bathroom, admits she lacked the courage to be a nurse and face filth, pain, and "the stupidity and boredom of other women."

The captain considers belief wrong and dangerous, and fears modern wars of religion. Some splendid singing makes him wonder "what else may not be lost in this ant-heap"; and he concludes that faced with common danger men can co-operate. "You can forget your hundred years of war. You've seen it can be done."

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Dr. Goebbels' "Black Record"

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

stance. When America condemns the State control of Russian news and information services, Russia retorts with some justice that the monopoly-owned Press of America can in no real sense of the term be called "free." If Britain criticizes Russia's insistence on the rights of national sovereignty as one of the main reasons for the failure of the UNO Atomic Energy Commission, it may be pointed out that Britain herself is a keen defender of the principle of national sovereignty when it comes to determining the character of the permanent organisation which is to administer Marshall Aid at the receiving end. And so it goes on.

Vassal or stooge?

IN spite of what I think to be the fairness of what I have written so far, I expect that a number of readers will already have classified me as either an American vassal or a Soviet stooge, according to the colour of their spectacles. For it is rapidly becoming impossible to find an unhysterical opinion on the world situation today. Even in pacifist circles, where political hysteria should be non-existent, the name of Russia sometimes occasions as much alarm and despondency as it occasions religious ecstasy in the Communist presbytery.

Today, a nation's only realists are its pacifists. Let us, then, face the facts. At no time in world history have political motives been so blatant and cynical, even necessary and valuable measures so tinged with self-interest, as they are today. Trieste and ERP are evidence enough. We must, therefore, make a choice. We may accept the cynicism and the selfishness as part of the customary atmosphere of power politics, and judge the protagonists in the coming tragedy by the relative morality of their actions within an immoral context; or we may reject the standards of power-politics altogether.

If we make the first choice, we shall rightly decide that the chief danger of war comes from Russia, not America; because, as Tribune says, America, with all her imperfections, is a democracy, and it is the lesson of the twentieth century that autocracies deliberately choose war, not political democracies. But, if we make this choice, all moral judgments become irrelevant anyway. If power-politics is the game, the side that plays it better deserves the applause. "Morality" then becomes merely the excuse for the hopeless business of pot and kettle, as indicated above.

Sanity the standard

IF, on the other hand, we reject the standards of power-politics—and only if they are rejected is there any hope of abolishing war—we must, I believe, condemn Russia and America individually according to the contribution that each makes towards war.

For example, by the standards of power-politics, America is justified in refusing to destroy her stock of atomic bombs before Russia agrees to international inspection and control. Equally, Russia is justified in refusing to disclose the locations of her big industries while America has atomic bombs that could be dropped on them. Result: deadlock, and another step towards war. But, by the standards of sanity and humanity, any nation that could contemplate the use of atomic weapons in any circumstances at all can only be condemned. And no amount of Russian stubbornness and American sweet reasonableness can disguise the fact that America has the bombs and refuses to destroy them unconditionally. Perhaps Russia has no right to protest at this, but sane humanity has, and it should not let exasperation with Russia prevent it from doing so.

Tribute to Vansittart

LET us hope that the reported easing of the Berlin tension will lead to a lasting improvement in relations. But discussions and dinners cannot solve the problem in any final sense. Dr. Goebbels, according to the review of his Diary, was clearly aware of the spurious nature of the "unity" of the anti-German allies. Indeed, it gave him considerable satisfaction.

Although each warring side wants to destroy us," he wrote, "it would nevertheless like to use us as allies against the other side after such destruction. This... may at some future time bring us to a decisive turning point of the war."

We prefer to think of our troubles as troubles of peace. It may be worth while considering whether Dr. Goebbels is not after all right—whether we are not in fact at "a decisive turning point of the war." For in no real sense can the war be said to have ended.

Goebbels also pays a long overdue tribute to Lord Vansittart. Peace News always insisted that Vansittart's propaganda was worth several divisions to the German army. Goebbels, in his private diary, confirms this view, and suggests the erection of a monument to the noble lord by a grateful Reich. We believe that Lord Vansittart himself will be modest enough to share with Bomber Harris and Winston Churchill the already existing monuments to their common work—a ruined Germany, a forest of crosses, and a future blacker even than Vansittart's version of Germany's history.

Chartists triumph

ONE thing is clear. Whatever the effect of Goebbels' propaganda during his lifetime, the Allies are doing their best to make the German people believe it now. Reports came from many sources of the deterioration in the attitude of the Germans to the occupying authorities. While conditions in the British Zone are what they are, it is useless for Britain to claim to represent Western cultural standards against the threat of Eastern totalitarianism. To the ordinary German, such a claim is merely a joke in very bad taste.

The task today is, indeed, not to defend human standards, but to create them. It should be Britain's peculiar contribution to concentrate on the real problem of our times, which is not the outmoded one of the conflict between capitalism and communism, but to decide whether socialism shall be free or totalitarian. The British Government attempts to evade the problem by adopting a remarkable system which is neither one thing nor the other, and spends its time pretending to the USA that it is not a socialist government and to its supporters at home that it is.

But the problem cannot be evaded. If free socialism does not fill the void which is Europe, totalitarian communism will. The task before those who see the problem is tremendous, and may seem hopeless while Capitalist-Communist, Tory-Labour, red herrings are everywhere. Equally hopeless must have seemed the cause of the Chartists, who, a hundred years ago tomorrow, held their final great fiasco of a demonstration on Kennington Common. Failure appeared to be the achievement of this first upsurge of the industrial workers in the hey-day of liberal revolutionism. Yet every point of the Charter except the demand for annual parliaments is today law.

If by the year 2048 humanity has failed to abolish war, there is likely to be nobody left to record the fact.

The world we live in

FROM the American magazine Time:

"In Mincola, N.Y., Mrs. Philip Shannon Jr. got temporary alimony and custody of the children when she testified that her husband had made her read Karl Marx."

I understand that there is no immediate intention of introducing their injured party line into English matrimonial law.

DELIGHTED

I WAS interested the other day to pick up a book which was written by an American airman, a scientist, called "There Will Be No Time." I opened this book, and in the middle portion I came across these words:

"Navies are not obsolete."

I thought it was worth reading, so I went through the book very carefully; and I was delighted to find, to my surprise, that this American airman was strongly in support of our putting atom bombs in warships and sending them all over the oceans, so that if we were attacked unexpectedly by atomic warfare, and our aerodromes were blasted with radio-active material, retaliation could be made from our ships in different corners of the world.

Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chesterfield, speaking on Defence in the House of Lords, March 17.

LINK UP WITH GERMANY

THERE are still very many German people, interested in pacifism, who would like to receive your copies of Peace News and other periodicals, after you have read them.

For only a halfpenny postage, up to 20z, of such matter can be sent to addresses in the British and U.S. Zones of Germany. If you are not already assisting, may we put you in touch with someone who would be very grateful for this simple gesture of goodwill.

Please write to the manager of Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. You will help us by enclosing a stamped addressed envelope.

TONIGHT

A PUBLIC MEETING, called by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in connection with the meeting of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in August next, will be held in the Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1., at 7.30 p.m. on April 9. Dr. C. E. Raven will be in the Chair; Percy Hartill, Henry Carter, Kathleen Lonsdale and S. Max Walters will be speaking.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, April 9, 1938.

Well over a thousand people attended the first Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, held in Friends' House, London, during the week-end.

"The support of dictators is founded upon antagonism to rich neighbours. It must and will collapse if our manifestations of good will and economic justice are obvious enough; because it is a law of life that the common people of all nations want peace."

"The pacifist and political policy of Mr. Lansbury is, in my opinion, the only policy which can save Europe from disaster."

So said Max Plowman toward the end of his report on his year's work as General Secretary of the PPU.

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CIVIL DEFENCE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

now — unilateral disarmament; or means of defence against a possible hostile occupation—passive resistance.

"Several slightly hysterical voices," reported The Economist, had protested in the Commons against the acceptance of war implicit in the Civil Defence programme: "that we might have said the same with equal cogency in the debates on the Service Estimates a fortnight before."

They might indeed, and one at least of them did. Mr. Emrys Hughes was only repeating what he had said before, when he submitted on March 22: "that we will have to reverse our whole international policy and take up the attitude that this nation could lead the way towards a new civilisation if we abandoned altogether the ideology of war"; "that we have to go back to the philosophy of the Quakers and adopt the point of view of non-aggression as preached by the leader of the Indian people who was shot not so long ago."

That is the simple truth. You don't have to be a pacifist to see any more than you have to be a totalitarian to see that Lysol is poison. Pacifism does not imply unilateral disarmament, nor does unilateral disarmament imply pacifism: to suggest that they did, would be both to hamper unilateral disarmament and to split the pacifist movement.

But those of us who refuse to participate in war even when it might succeed—because we believe it to be immoral always as it is unrealistic here and now—appreciate Mr. Hughes' further question and answer: "What is the Christianity of which we hear so often in the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer?—only the export."

It was Sir Stafford Cripps, we recall, who declared at the Gandhi Memorial Meeting in Westminster Abbey, "that it is idle to try and save ourselves from destruction by the use of force, and that our greatest weapon of salvation is the supreme and redeeming power of love."

ALL THEIR PAST PROCLAIMS HIS FUTURE

IN World War I Kenneth Rosewarne's father served four prison sentences as a Conscientious Objector; so did his brother in World War II. Now, in the First Cold War, Kenneth may bring the family score to nine.

His appeal last month to the Manchester Appellate Tribunal against registration as a C.O. with a Land work condition was dismissed. Today a new recruit to the ranks of those who will not hoe their row as part of the military machine is awaiting action by the Ministry of Labour.

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